

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS).

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, no American citizen should ever have to pass someone else's religious test to qualify for a federally funded job. No American, not one, should ever have to be fired from a federally funded job solely because of his or her religious faith. It is ironic that a bill that was designed supposedly to stop discrimination against religion ends up authorizing, and then subsidizing, religious discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, unless this motion to recommit is passed, a group associated with Bob Jones University could receive our Federal tax dollars and put out a sign that says, "No Catholics need apply here for a federally funded job." That is wrong.

Say no to discrimination and yes to this motion to recommit.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remainder of the time to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, as we listen to all of the programs that could be funded under this bill, remember that anything that can be funded under this bill can be funded today if the sponsor will abide by the civil rights laws. On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt signed an Executive Order number 8802 which prohibited defense contractors from discriminating in employment based on race, color, creed or national origin. Civil rights laws of the 1960s put those protections into law. The vote was not unanimous, but the bills passed.

Since then, few have questioned whether or not sponsors of Federal programs could consider a person's religious beliefs or religious practices when they were hiring someone for a job paid for with Federal money. But here we are considering a bill with no new money, a bill which provides eligibility for funding only to those programs who are eligible for funding now, if one would comply with civil rights laws. That is not a barrier to funding.

Mr. Speaker, we do not need new ways to discriminate. Let us maintain our civil rights by passing the motion to recommit.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER) for 5 minutes.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, make no mistake about it. This motion to recommit is more than a new preemption clause. It denies religious organizations, including churches, their current exemption from Title VII when they seek to take part in Federal programs to help others. It is not the motion to recommit we have been reading about. It is the motion to recommit we have been hearing about,

plus an atomic bomb for faith-based organizations.

I repeat. This motion to recommit contains more than a preemption clause. It trumps the considered judgment of the Congress that passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and which soundly decided, along with the Supreme Court, that churches must be allowed to hire members of their own faith in order to remain churches under Federal law. I ask my colleagues to remember that when they vote.

Even Al Gore, during his campaign and in his speech to the Salvation Army, said that "faith-based organizations can provide jobs and job training, counseling and mentoring, food and basic medical care. They can do so with public funds and without having to alter their religious character that is so often the key to their effectiveness."

Again, the only way a church can retain its religious character is if it can staff itself with those who share the same faith.

In addition, the small churches of America will often be providing the social services covered under H.R. 7 with the same staff they currently have, and that staff likely shares the same religious faith. The substitute would make it impossible for these small churches to contribute to Federal efforts against desperation and helplessness, and it is precisely these small churches that H.R. 7 intends to welcome into a laudable effort.

Section 702 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has for decades exempted nonprofit, private, religious organizations engaged in both religious and secular nonprofit activities from Title VII's prohibition on discrimination in employment on the basis of religion. The Supreme Court, including Justices Brennan and Marshall, upheld this exemption in the Amos case.

Section 702 is not waived or forfeited when a religious organization receives Federal funding. No provision in section 702 states that its exemption of nonprofit, private, religious organizations from Title VII's prohibition on discrimination in employment is forfeited when a faith-based organization receives a Federal grant. But the substitute would do just that.

The motion to recommit would prevent Federal equal access rules from following Federal funds. Under this motion, States or localities could incorporate provisions into their procurement requirements that prohibit religious organizations from hiring on a religious basis when they take part in covered Federal programs. Such provisions thwart the very purpose of this legislation, which is to welcome the very smallest of organizations into the Federal fight against poverty.

I want to emphasize to everyone that the small churches of America will be providing the social services covered by H.R. 7 with the same staff they currently have, and that staff likely shares the same religious faith. State

or local procurement requirements that deny them the right to retain the same staff will slam the door shut on their participation to the detriment of people in need everywhere.

Churches should be allowed to compete for Federal social service funds and remain churches while doing so. The only way a church can remain a church is to give them the right to staff itself with those that share their faith. Again, this is a bill that really puts the small churches in America in the midst of fighting poverty, helplessness and despair.

Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to vote down the motion to recommit. The only way we can expand the capacity of the Nation to meet the needs of the poor and afflicted is through H.R. 7. Only in this way can we help those with highly effective and efficient but small, faith-based organizations being in the mix.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I think all Members of Congress of welcome the opportunity to search for new options to solve historically entrenched problems in all communities in the United States. Under established law, the Supreme Court requires a secular purpose to sustain the validity of legislation, and the eradication of social ills certainly affects all Americans. However, as we consider the possibility of allowing faith-based groups to compete for federal funding to eradicate social ills, we should be careful to recognize our limited powers in this area.

Mr. Speaker, James Madison, the father of the First Amendment, clearly understood the potential harms involved with the commingling of church and state when he stated that he "apprehended the meaning of the [Establishment Clause] to be, that Congress should not establish a religion, and enforce the legal observation of it by law, nor compel men to worship God in any manner contrary to their conscience." 1 Annals of Cong. 758 (Gales & Seaton's ed. 1834) (Aug 15, 1789).

Mr. Speaker, Madison was concerned that without the Establishment Clause, the Necessary and Proper Clause of the Constitution might have enabled the Congress to "make laws of such a nature as might infringe the rights of conscience, and establish a national religion; to prevent these he assumed the amendment was intended . . ." because he "believed that the people feared one sect might obtain pre-eminence, or two combine together, and establish a religion to which they would compel others to perform." Id.

We are therefore left with an irony of historical proportions today as we discuss H.R. 7, the Community Solutions Act of 2001." For as we begin our discussion of H.R. 7, I find that the Leadership has sponsored legislation contrary to both the intention of the first Amendment and its development in Supreme Court precedent.

Mr. Speaker, the United States has gained a full understanding of the First Amendment, and particularly its prohibitions on congressional activity toward religion and religious institutions, through the development of precedent in case law. Over the years the courts have struck a delicate balance between the competing tendencies of the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause.